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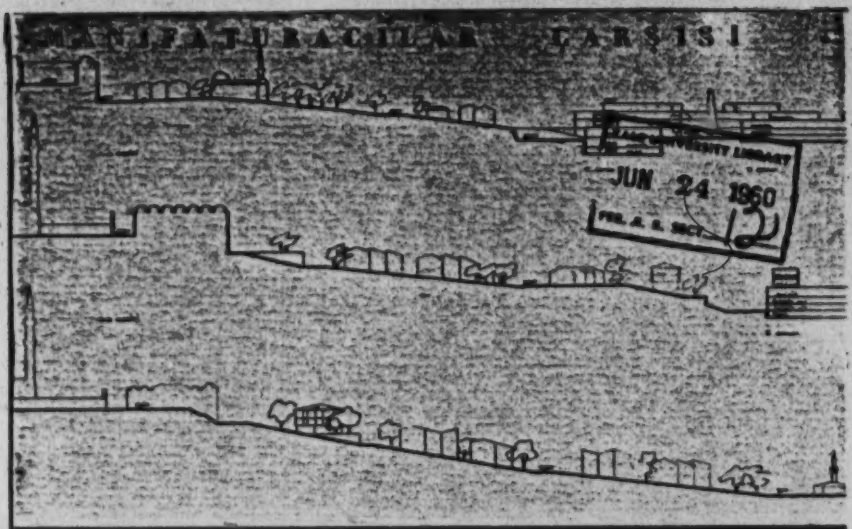

POLITICAL RESEARCH: ORGANIZATION AND DESIGN

PROD TRANSLATIONS

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Political Life in the Urban Centers of Senegal: A Study of a Period of Transition

Senegal and Sudan presently comprise the Mali Federation, which is in the process of achieving sovereignty within the French Community. Senegal itself is one of the most urbanized West African regions, and its cities have been characterized by a gradual growth of modern political life. The author presents some major findings on its urban political activity, based on extensive interviews made in the mid-1950's. The oldest urban elite, almost entirely assimilated into the French way of life, has been only partially successful in developing party organizations that satisfy the interests of the newer urban residents. As a consequence, the most active and radical post-war political activity has been centered in "non-political" bodies, notably labor unions. Also, urban political activity has been increasingly challenged by rural political developments, which have drawn their framework from urban politics. African specialists will note that Senegalese political development has much in common with such development elsewhere in Africa; it also has a number of distinctive features.

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The African Urban Milieu

369 It has been emphasized for some time that an essential characteristic of most cities in sub-Sahara Africa is that they were a "creation of the whites." For the sociologist, the outstanding feature of the African urban milieu is that it is a "drastically new milieu." With a few exceptions, the most important of these cities were founded quite recently, and lie within the framework of colonial history. Those whose functional development and population growth in the past two decades have been most spectacular for the most part date back less than a century. In these cities African urban problems are most apparent, and hence they have more quickly drawn the attention of researchers. The essential concepts of the urbanization process in sub-Sahara Africa have been formulated in this context.

The diversity in these urban situations should not be underestimated, however; it is especially important in the study of

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369 problems arising from political activities. Cities founded in the slave-trade period have traits that distinguish them from the more recent colonial cities, and any discussion of Senegalese cities must take full account of such a distinction.

[177] To be sure, "old cities" and "recent cities"[1] have one fundamental trait in common: both are entirely the products of external compulsion. In the rural districts, the controls introduced by the colonial power impinged on integrated, settled societies, whose solidarity and coherence often enabled them at least to check and moderate external influences, and to confine them to given channels. In the colonial cities, however, foreign activity itself created the framework in which it operated. Its principal effect was to bring together a conglomerate and poorly-integrated population, which from the outset was confronted by novel problems and upon which the agencies of change acted with maximum intensity. This condition is essential in the consideration of problems of political life in an urban milieu.

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[1] An instrumental distinction whose meaning is explained below. For an examination of some criteria making possible the definition of different types of colonial cities, *cf.* P. Mercier, "Aspects de la société africaine dans l'agglomération dakaroise: groupes familiaux et unités de voisinage," in *L'agglomération dakaroise. Quelques aspects sociologiques et démographiques.* I.F.A.N., Dakar, 1954.

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Even at this juncture, however, effects of the distinction between old and recent cities are apparent. The growth of the old slave-trade cities took place in two stages. In the first, there was a fairly slow tempo of growth in which the elements comprising the city were united into a relatively integrated whole. In the second stage, corresponding to the recent colonial period, population growth was much more rapid; new strata of city-dwellers appeared, so numerous that the original city could not effectively assimilate them. A series of problems arose from the relations between the comparatively stable nucleus and the weakly-structured host of new arrivals. In Senegal these relations were originally hostile, yet played an important role in certain phases of urban political life.

The complexity of the principal traits of political phenomena in the framework of the colonial cities is suggested in the following discussion.

The Traditional and Modern Frameworks

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African urban centers were established more or less wholly beyond the limits of traditional political units.[2] They were distinguished by novel activities and functions, quickly acquired a cosmopolitan aspect, and received a meager administrative organization. As privileged centers for Europeans, they could hardly survive except through a system of direct administration, and withdrew more or less rapidly from the local, pre-European political systems and authorities, which were in no way equipped to absorb them. Yet political problems of the traditional sort were not entirely excluded from urban life. In certain cases the territory of an indigenous political system was largely or wholly incorporated by the city, and officially recognized.[3] Colonial authorities at first assumed only the radi-

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369 cally new functions that the old system
633 could not manage, but this phase of internal autonomy was brief. The new government progressively assumed all political functions, and the population of the
642 city became diversified. Effective operation of the traditional authority was then
633 limited to the one ethnic group that henceforth furnished its members. Nevertheless, despite its increasingly ambiguous position and more and more purely formal character, despite the fact that it had no genuine initiative, traditional authority continued to play a role in urban life. Old political systems eventually were used by the modern political organizations as one of the props for their own action, and conversely, some traditional authorities attempted to reinforce their declining influence by insinuating themselves into a new political role.

[369] These interactions merit attention. In effect, traditional political forms were taken over into the framework of urban life, though in rudimentary outline. This was the case in ethnic group and ward organization, for example, which involved the institutions of "ward-chiefery" and "race-chiefery." These were often developed spontaneously, sometimes assuming a clandestine nature. In other cases such organizational forms were encouraged and given official recognition. Some were created out of whole cloth by the colonial authority, which saw in them an effective means for regulating populations still poorly integrated into the framework that it was striving to establish.[4] The role of authorities having traditional origins quickly became secondary, of course, but it has raised contradictions that make the study of interpenetration between traditional and modern political frameworks an essential one.

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[P. 4C]
[Footnote 4 continued on P 5C - Analyst]

[2] Their territory, at least in the case of the oldest cities, was often the object of a "concession" by local authorities, and was therefore withdrawn from their direct control.

[3] This is the case, for example, of Lagos; regarding Dakar, where the authorities of the "Republic of Lebou" had their seat, *cf.* C. Michel, "L'organisation coutumière (sociale et politique) de la communauté Laboue de Dakar," *Bull. du Comité d'Et. hist. et sci. de l'A.O.F.*, March 17, 1934; and C. Faure, *Histoire de la presqu'île du Cap-Vert et des origins de Dakar*, Paris, 1914.

[4] G. Balandier, in *Sociologie des Brazzavilles noires* (Paris, 1955) shows clearly the occurrence there of "a transfer onto an urban milieu of leadership agencies already existing in a rural milieu; the

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The New Political Life

369 668 More importantly, the urban centers deserve attention because of the role they have played in the development of a radically new type of political life, one [177] whose forms have been largely borrowed from outside Africa. The first attempts at political organization and activity were born in the cities. More recently some political movements have appeared in a rural context, as a reflection of rural conditions, but they have drawn much of their pattern from the cities, or from among elements subject to urban influences.

The modern African city presents a set of conditions favorable to the development of especially intense political reac- 369 tions. The position of the colonizing power is most sharply apparent in the city, and the instruments of its power are concentrated there. The rootless condition of the African population seems at its extreme; the masses that gather in the city are unsettled, poorly established in their occupations, and suffer from [571] every form of insecurity. The new elites created and shaped by urban life feel restricted and disappointed in their desires for social advancement and for a share in authority and in modern symbols of prestige.[5] Finally, the city brings together a white society and a Negro [563] society, though often clearly separated by topography. In these circumstances racial tensions can develop to their maximum. Moreover, they assume varied aspects, *e.g.*, competitive situations in various spheres, official or unofficial discrimination.[6] Intense reactions to such conditions may take no organized form and may not manifest themselves except after some delay, however. Here the

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problem of the "old cities" is again relevant. In them, such reactions can remain unorganized or marginal longer in relation to the official forms of political expression. We shall see that this is typical of certain Senegalese cities.

Furthermore, some reactions are born and expressed in a much larger framework than that of political life in its strictest sense of party activity. Demands for justice in the colonial situation can be expressed on different planes and in different fields. In South Africa, for example, Africans are largely barred from social and political action, and the chief demands emerge in religious activities.[7] Elsewhere, political life may not be forbidden, but its forms of expression are limited, either openly or in fact—for instance, by means of a judicial system in which people cannot file a case. Thus, the most radical demands are formulated not within the framework of parties — at least, in their official platforms — but in that of unions or other associations. Attitudes, behaviors, and ideologies are formed in such organizations, pending the possibility of full expression at the political level. In the urban centers of Senegal some of the most important popular forces, at least prior to the great transformations that began in 1956, were to be found outside parties.

The Growth of Rural Political Life

These fundamental demands of the urban population provide models for similar demands that spread from the cities into rural districts. The general preponderance of the cities in political initiative is mentioned above. They are both centers of attraction and centers for the diffusion of foreign influences. An im-

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hierarchy of administrator-mayor, administrator-deputy mayor, and ward leader corresponds to the hierarchy of regional leader, district leader, and cantonal leader" (p. 169). The contradictions that he points out in the administrative organization of Brazzaville were sharper still at Dakar: the institution of appointed ward leaders coexisted with that of an elected city government, whose relations with the colonial administration did not differ in principle from those of French city governments with prefectoral authority.

[5] *Cf.* P. Mercier, "Evolution des élites sénégalaises," *Bull. intl. des Sci. soc.*, VIII (#4, '56).
Groupement européen de Dakar: orientations d'une enquête," *Cahiers intl. de Soc.* XIX, 1955.

[6] *Cf. Infra.*, and the Summary Notes Given in P. Mercier, "Aspects de la Société Africaine" and "Le

[7] *Cf.* B. G. M. Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets in South Africa*, London, 1948; and G. Balandier, *Sociologie actuelle de l'Afrique noire*, Paris, 1955.

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portant part of the urban population has considerable mobility, and thus maintains solid ties and frequent communication with the regions of its origins.[8] Moreover, lesser members of the modern urban
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elites, *e.g.*, workers and petty offiicials, have been settled in rural centers, thus extending urban influence still further. By these means a double network of individuals more or less shaped by the conditions of urban life is established. Contacts and relations between urban centers and rural districts can vary markedly, however. The area affected by the prestige of political leaders thus may be more or less extensive. The forms of activity and organization created in the city generally can be transplanted to rural sectors only in their rudimentary forms.

In Senegal, historical factors account for the sharp division between city and countryside. In the old coastal cities, a separatistic history and a particular juridical status have contributed to their marginal position in Senegalese life. The consequences of the separation between the former "citizens" of "the four communes" and the former "subjects" of the interior[9] have not been entirely wiped out, even in recent years.

From the foregoing points of view, Senegalese urban political life can be oriented in summary fashion to the general problems of urban political life. A series of particular traits in the Senegalese situation are first interpreted against the historical background. The subsequent section summarizes the results of investigations conducted in certain Senegalese
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centers in 1953-1955, during a period of transition between two major phases in the development of political life.[10]

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Political Development In The Cities of Senegal

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In all of West Africa, the phenomenon of urbanization has been most extensive and the variety of its forms most striking in Senegal. The area has about ten communities with more than 10,000 inhabitants each; five of these have well over 30,000 inhabitants and the major urban center, Dakar, has almost 250,000 inhabitants. The urban population exceeds 500,000, about one quarter of the total population. The present urban pattern has no link with a pre-European tradition. Some of the cities wield influence over extensive suburban zones, and the distances separating them are relatively short, so that the western half of Senegal is covered by a close network of urban centers.

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Partial administration of municipal affairs and familiarity with electoral machinery are by no means recent acquisitions. The first African communes "with full powers"[11] were created in Senegal, in the second half of the 19th century, and there the first "mixed communes"[12] were developed, at the beginning of the 20th century. Among all the French West African territories, Senegal contained the largest number of constituted communes, and alone had almost a quarter of the communes with full powers created in all French Overseas Territories by the law of 1956. As early as 1925 there were 18 communes, of which four had full autonomy. The exercise of political rights in modern form dates back more than 75 years for some cities, and by 1953 there were elected municipal councils in 14 of the 20 mixed communes in Senegal.

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[8] These facts were studied by M. Hunter, *Reaction to Conquest*, London, 1936, among others.
[9] *Cf., infra.*, summary historical comments regarding the development of citizenship in the oldest Senegalese settlements.
[10] After 1956, changes occurred more rapidly. There were profound transformations in the orientations of political parties, in the organization of unions, etc. These transformations acquired greater significance in the new legislative and constitutional frameworks instituted in 1957 and subsequently.
[11] These had an organization patterned after that of French communes, even though the conditions under which they operated were not always comparable. It was not until 1956, 75 years later, that communes were established in territories other than Senegal.
[12] These were all characterized by the fact that their mayor was a representative of the French colonial administration. There were various types, according to whether the city council was entirely appointed, or partially or entirely elected. Between the two wars they expanded rapidly outside Senegal.

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"The Four Communes of Senegal"

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The four coastal cities have had the longest experience with political rights. All are fairly old; Dakar was founded most recently, in 1857. St. Louis of Senegal, founded in the time of the slave-trade, is the oldest, and a typical example of the "old colonial city." In 1659 a warehouse of the Company of the Senegal was built on the site, the first French settlement in the region. It was a commercial post oriented toward the river, and a small military outpost; it became the jumping-off place for the conquest of the African territories. The general traits of the old African city may still be found in St. Louis' central section, despite recent changes. In such a center the African population was relatively stable.[13] A few European families established residence, and a rather important mixed-blood population developed. By the mid-19th century an urban community with a homogeneous way of life had emerged.

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The Isle of Gorée, which became the second commune in Senegal, was occupied in 1677; it was oriented toward the Petite-Cote and the factories of Rufisque, Joal, and Portudal. Of these, only Rufisque developed; it became the third commune. St. Louis and Gorée underwent many vicissitudes before 1815, when they were restored to France. They then returned to "legal" commerce, which was centered in the valley of the Senegal. St. Louis retained its dominance. By the end of the 18th century it had had nearly 7,000 inhabitants, about half of whom were free and almost a tenth European. In the 1870's its population was about 15,000, while Gorée had but 3,000; Rufisque was growing as was Dakar. Finally, the interior back of the Petite-Cote was opening up, and Thiès was founded. In the following period St.

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369 Louis stagnated[14] and Gorée declined,
633 losing people at the expense of Dakar and
Rufisque; Rufisque grew rapidly, as the
175 port for the ground-nut. Dakar entered
[162] a period of prosperity at the turn of the
century.[15] During the late 19th century
[439] the composition of the population already
was beginning to change fairly rapidly,
especially in the expanding centers, but
the old core of urban population continued to hold a dominant place, not only in urban life but also in the colony of Senegal as a whole, whose constitution had come into effect. The people of St. Louis most notably served as essential instruments of the colonization effort.

This dominance was expressed very clearly in the political realm. The coastal cities, in contrast to the interior cities and rural areas, had been introduced to the structure and organization through which modern political life is conducted long before the reforms of 1946. Political activity of the modern type was first limited to the European settlers but was
[563] soon extended to the mixed-blood element and then to the Negro population. Beginning in the late 18th century, St. Louis had a mayor, always a mixed-blood, who served as intermediary between the governor and the populace. In 1789 the
[668] colony participated in metropolitan political activities, sending to the States-General a petition of grievances that demanded commercial freedom — *i.e.*, abolition of the Company monopoly — and the end of slavery. A satisfactory agreement was reached among employees of the Company, European businessmen, and mixed-blood businessmen, but it was never brought to fruition; a period of disorder set in and persisted until the rebirth of the colony in 1815.

[641] In 1833 French citizenship was conferred upon all free inhabitants of St. Louis and Gorée by royal decree. Citizenship was extended to all inhabitants of

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[13] We have observed that in such cases a "people belonging to the city" emerged. Their ties with their birthplaces were more or less completely severed.
[14] It had scarcely 20,000 inhabitants in 1920, but its growth resumed in the 1930's. In 1954 it had a population of 39,000.
[15] With the creation of a harbor, which captured the trade of Rufisque, whose modernization appeared impossible, and the installation of the government-general of French West Africa, established in 1895.

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369 633 175 [641] the two cities with the abolition of slavery in 1848.[16] The four coastal cities were elevated to the status of communes with full powers between 1872 and 1887, and the organization of political life on a European pattern in the four communes crystalized the opposition between the citizens of the old settlements and the subjects of the territories in the newly-conquered interior. The cities alone provided apprenticeship in public life and in the representative system. Beginning in 1871 they elected a deputy to the French Parliament. In 1879 they [646] elected a Council-general patterned after those in France, supposedly to represent all Senegal. It actually represented only the few urban centers, whose interests at the time diverged widely from those of the rest of Senegal. An effort was subsequently made to repair this breach by transforming the Council-general into a colonial council, consisting of representatives elected by the citizens and representatives for the non-citizens appointed by the *notables*.[17] This reduced conflicts [641] scarcely at all. Meanwhile, citizenship acquired new importance. At first it was established by local law and had no effect in other French territories. Not until 1916 did the "natives of the four communes" receive full French citizenship while still being able to retain their personal status. These citizens were few in [660] number: scarcely 80,000 in 1939, about 100,000 in the 1950's. The cities tended to include more non-citizens than citizens as they grew. Actual participation in politics developed only gradually. At [666] the first legislative elections, in 1871, only a third of those registered voted, and the rate dropped to less than a fifth

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369 633 175 [666] in some years. Since the beginning of the 20th century, however, urban citizens have taken an increasingly lively interest in political matters.[18]

563 668 In this restricted political system the relative importance of the roles played by different ethnic groupings and different cities varied continuously. Ethnic dominance, first held by the old European families, passed gradually to mixed-blood society, which came into being in the 18th century and rapidly acquired wealth, education, and influence. By the mid-19th century mixed-bloods made up the majority of the westernized population. But the entry of the emancipated slaves, [166] the first sizable migration toward the cities, quickly reduced the mixed-bloods to a minority. In 1900 they numbered [162] less than 5,000 in the four communes together, though for several decades their economic and political influence remained quite disproportionate to their numbers. 668 Among the cities, St. Louis was [869] predominant until WW I. At the beginning of the century it practically controlled the deputation to the French legislature and the Council-general — and hence the economic life of the territory. Then Gorée-Dakar came to the fore;[19] in 1914 a citizen of Gorée, Blaise Diagne, was elected deputy, followed by Galandou Diouf and Lebou. These men were the first elected Senegalese to win [645] broad support at Paris; Diagne himself was appointed a Secretary of State [a subministerial post, equivalent to a U.S. Under-Secretary]. In Senegal, the au- [642] thority of elected officials — deputies and Councillors-general — increased, and clashes with the civil administration were frequent.[20]

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[16] Which nearly tripled the number of citizens, who henceforth comprised a body that was more heterogeneous but less completely "assimilated."
[17] Translator's note: the *notables* were influential residents appointed to high political offices in the interior by the local representative of French government.
[18] Especially after 1914, when there appeared a particularly dynamic personnage, Blaise Diagne, whose popularity was widespread.
[19] Dakar absorbed Gorée in 1929. The latter was reestablished as a separate commune in 1956.
[20] At first — at the end of the 19th century — these were conflicts between the merchants, upholding the interests of their agencies, and the civil administration, then engaged in an expansionist policy in West Africa, whose advantages the former could not see. Not until recent years did these conflicts change very much in character.

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The Growth of Political Parties

668 This political tradition explains why the changes in Senegal after 1946 took a unique coloring, and why Senegal's subsequent political history has been considerably different from that of other French West African territories. The political changes instituted after WW II [633] represented in part a loss of privileged position for the four communes, though they continued to play a dominant role for several years.[21] This was one of the factors that made the period 1946-1956 one of transition.

668 665 One important development was the appearance of well-structured political parties. Pre-war political life had been characterized by clusters of followers assembled about influential leaders, in a framework that somewhat resembled that of a "republic of notables." This pattern was still common in 1946; the nature of parties changed only gradually. On the other hand, political life broadened to include the whole territory. The long-standing predominance enjoyed by the coastal cities persisted for a few years but the weight of their electorate fell rapidly.[22] The emerging ideologies and the newly-founded political organizations were oriented toward the satisfaction of wants quite different from those typical of the old urban populations. But the models and the leaders that the latter had produced retained an influence that greatly exceeded their geographic limits, and in the cities they receded only slowly before the growth of a political life with different roots.

The fact that the post-war institutional developments were not transplanted to virgin soil had two contradictory results. On the one hand, a political party that was merely a branch of a

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668 French party — the S.F.I.O.[23] — developed and for several years played a dominant role throughout Senegal. In the other territories parties were more often purely local, and simply allied themselves with the French parties. The S.F.I.O. lost its predominence in Senegal after 1951, but kept it in the four communes — St. Louis and Dakar-Gorée being its chief strongholds; it remained there as the African Socialist Movement.[24] This result, the adoption of assimilationist views, was to a certain degree a characteristic of pre-war political life, but on the other hand it contributed to the leadership of the first party that tried to be at once interterritorial and specifically African: the African Democratic Assembly (R.D.A.). It provided some of the most radical elements in the movement, which received considerable support, especially at Dakar. Several radical leaders were the source of the conflicts that resulted in the split in the R.D.A. that followed the change of orientation after 1950. The R.D.A. was subsequently a rather marginal movement in Senegal. This second result suggests the strength of the relations of a party limited to the numerous elite of the old Senegalese cities with the great European currents of political thought.

But the greatest effect of the diversification of Senegalese political life was felt elsewhere. The appearance and rapid success of the Senegalese Democratic Bloc (B.D.S.) — which stemmed from a division in the S.F.I.O. — were the manifestations, in the political realm, of two essential facts: (1) the important changes that had taken place in the composition of city populations; and (2) the resumption of initiative by the rural populations, who seized the opportunity to express themselves directly, and especi-

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[21] A very significant portion of the present framework emerged from the "four communes."
[22] Until 1957, universal suffrage existed only in the four communes. In the rest of Senegal the franchise, which was very limited in 1946, was extended to more and more people. The organic law of 1956 abolished all restrictions.
[23] Translator's note: French section of the Workingmen's International: the French Socialist Party, attached to the old Second International.
[24] In 1956. The municipal elections of the same year showed clearly the extent of its influence, which was unimportant in the interior cities.

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668 665 369 666 ally to express themselves in opposition to the old cities. The legislative elections of 1951 were typical in this respect. The enlarged rural electorate had numerical control and held the key to success in the elections; a substantial part of the urban masses shared in an effort to drive a breach in the old system of urban domination. In this period the ideological aspects of the political parties were still unimportant. The elections of 1951 were a victorious revolt of the new citizens, urban and rural, against the old citizens of the "four communes."[25] The two candidates of the B.D.S. won. Significantly, one of them represented directly, through the unions, the new forces. The division between the whole of the territory and the cities was thus repeated *within* the cities. A new phase had commenced, one in which politics became more complicated. But the forms that can be termed "traditional" for political life were too deeply embedded within the patterns of urban life to give way at once.

Senegalese Political Life in Transition, 1953-1956

668 665 [114] It was under such conditions that researches were conducted on the forms of political expression in several Senegalese urban centers, chiefly at Dakar-Gorée and at St. Louis — that is, three of the four communes — and also at Thiès, a newer city in the interior close to and under the influence of the Dakar-Gorée-Rufisque aggregate. This last study provided certain comparative materials. This essay discusses only some of the findings of these researches. Three essential facts must be remembered:

(1) The importance retained by certain long-standing patterns. A party de-

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668 signed to be distinctive, and to a degree
665 founded in opposition to these patterns, nevertheless conforms with them, at least for a time, within the "old cities." This is one of the limits of the political system of this period: the deepest political aspirations, which are rapidly gaining strength, can be only partially expressed within a partisan structure.

(2) The central role of certain non-political groupings and organizations[26] in the elaboration of more radical ideologies and in the formation of the most active groups. This must be viewed as a direct function of the preceding condition.

[57] (3) The temporarily marginal status of an important part of the new elites, whose formation had accelerated in the post-war years. At the time of study, a shift of elites was occurring. Youthful elements were vigorously opposed to what was termed the "bourgeoisie of the old cities."[27] This is another indication that the underlying forces still laid outside urban politics; they did not enter them until 1956.

The New Parties

665 After 1946 a series of political parties
369 emerged: the Senegalese branch of the S.F.I.O., the B.D.S., the M.P.S., and the U.D.S.[28] Only the first two received wide support, yet one cannot fail to be impressed by the extent of party membership. Out of a group of 1,200 men interviewed at Dakar, for example, more than half (56 per cent) declared themselves members of a party.[29] The percentage was very high, and of considerable significance. The population involved in this sampling was essentially a stable one, or at least one settled in cities for several years. Other researches justify

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[25] At the time, the civil administration viewed this revolt rather favorably. Of course, it was only one aspect of the politics of the period. Some rather contradictory alliances were formed to oppose the S.F.I.O.

[26] Assuming a limited sense for the word "political," by applying it solely to party organizations.

[27] *Cf.* P. Mercier, "Evolution des élites sénégalaises," *Bull. intl. des Sci. soc.*, VIII (#4, '56). Materials for comparison appear, *mutatis mutandis*, in E.-F. Frazier, *Bourgeoisie noire*, Paris, 1956.

[28] Senegalese Populist Movement and Senegalese Democratic Union.

[29] This involved solely the male population.

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369 the assertion that the temporary population, especially the seasonal one, shared very little in urban politics.[30] However, the groupings under study clearly extended beyond the nucleus of the "old population," which in Dakar was less sharply defined and more conglomerate than in a center such as St. Louis.[31] The traits peculiar to the latter were still discernible, however: thus, the majority ethnic group — Lebou and Wolof, which includes the largest number of "old urban families" — exhibited these political characteristics in a more striking form. Exact data gathered on extended family groups revealed political party membership varying from 50 to 80 per cent among the Lebou and Wolof (as much among women as among men); in these cases, membership was verified by possession of a party card. This verification was not required in the course of the general study previously noted; one may thus assume that some of the men interviewed who declared themselves members of a party were only sympathizers, or had failed to have their cards renewed. Other data, however, confirmed the validity of the information obtained. Thus, during the post-war years the Senegal branch of the S.F.I.O. was among the six most important branches of the party; in the mid-1950's the enormous majority of its adherents were to be found in the coastal cities.

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One peculiarity, examined in the course of this essay, requires at least a partial interpretation. Considering the massive party membership, participation in elections was scanty. Thus, at the time of the last municipal elections in Dakar, the number of persons registered to vote exceeded 50,000.[32] According to the

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census of 1955, one might have expected it to reach nearly 80,000. Abstentions — in relation to the number registered — amounted to about 30 per cent. In this trend one can see the ambiguity that typified political life in the Senegalese cities. Evidence was also gathered on the status of participation in the other phases of party activity. Parties are organized in ward sections, sometimes with separate sections for women. The activities of these sections do not merit detailed study; they vary too greatly in intensity. One point became clear, however, from direct observation on one hand and the results of a series of interviews on the other: these sectional activities drew only a very limited portion — about 10 per cent — of party effectives. By contrast, occasional demonstrations might draw considerable numbers, including individuals from outside the city. Sometimes such demonstrations coincided with propaganda meetings organized directly by the party. In other cases they stemmed from the presence of a party leader as an observer at an official reception, a conference, etc.

Other facts also demonstrate that party membership does not imply militant action in the specifically political arena. A series of interviews carried out during 1953-1954 revealed only a slight degree of ideological unity in the two large parties, the S.F.I.O. and the B.D.S.; knowledge about specific phases of their programs was generally modest or nonexistant. Hence distribution of party memberships scarcely involved a precise ideological choice.[33] This choice to some degree reflected an actual distinction,[34] but this was apparently no more than a tendency. In addition to the primary

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[30] But it could remain attached more or less firmly to the political activities of the place of its origin.
[31] It included elements from St. Louis and Gorée, Lebou elements that had become urbanized "on [redacted]ot," etc. The population of Dakar tripled 1936-1956, from 80,000 to nearly 250,000.
To be precise, 52,250. These elections are used as an example because the new organization for the city government involved a revision of the electoral lists, the most extensive in many years; and, also, a comparison with recent census figures (compiled in 1955) was possible for the first time.
[33] The facts of the split between the latent ideological content of judgments and opinions of a political sort, and that of the party programs, are noted below. Of course, there were probably distinctions according to level of schooling.
[34] Roughly, between old and new city-dwellers.

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665 369 cause of this peculiarity, described previously, there were secondary causes, of ethnic, religious, and other natures. Their action contributed to the blurring of lines between the party groups. These facts explain, for example, why the B.D.S., until its recent changes, was unable despite great efforts to change the nature of urban politics. Only the broad action of new factors that were felt considerably beyond the frontiers of Senegal, from 1956 on, brought some change.

These widespread occurrences affected chiefly the two large parties. The other parties, the M.P.S. and U.D.S., which had developed from the schism in the R.D.A., had a quite different nature. They were parties of activists, and in Senegalese political life had only secondary importance. The successes of the R.D.A. elsewhere in West Africa, even during 1956-1957, had only feeble repercussions in Senegal. This fact had many causes, which cannot be studied here. By contrast, the S.F.I.O. and the B.D.S. were tending to become, in terms of number, parties with mass support; their cores were made up as much by "*notables*" and "elected agents" as by activists. The struggle between these two parties continued to dominate the stage, if not in all Senegal, at least in the cities and in certain rural districts.[35] In some cases it took extremely violent forms. 666 665 369 [633] [519] Pre-election riots were common between 1946 and 1956. Even in 1957, rather serious incidents marked the reorganization of the commune of Dakar, before the last municipal elections.[36] For the first time, elements of the B.D.S. (now the Senegalese Populist Bloc, or B.P.S.) won strong representation in the city council, previously dominated without opposition by the S.F.I.O. (now the African Socialist Movement — M.S.A.); an outburst of partisan passions marked

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665 this shift. Such demonstrations revealed
[369] the intense hostility between the two
[666] main parties. This deeply influenced urban life, in the realms that overlapped into the specifically political domain.

Some indications have been given as to the significance of party membership. They can be supplemented by approaching the problem somewhat differently. To a considerable degree, the parties remained closely associated with the "clienteles" that typified pre-war political life. This trait appeared most clearly in the party in power, the one that controlled the city government. To maintain and increase
[669] such a political clientele, the party had access to very important instruments. Through the numerous municipal employees and all others who depended upon city hall, or who directly or indirectly benefited from its aid or its support, it extended a very wide network of influence. This was elaborated by the other network of influence, comprising the traditionally influential individuals, who were partly interwoven into it.[37] If a party had such a basis its dynamic force dropped considerably, and the role of its leaders assumed major importance. The prestige of the leader was essential to the cohesion of the political groups. This fact came out clearly in various researches. For instance, in the course of over 100 interviews it appeared that there were wide gaps between the official orientation of the party to which the respondent belonged and the political goals that he expressed.[38] Adherence to the leader overcame that difference to some extent. A certain formalization of partisan attachment thus appeared, in a primitive fashion. The importance of the leader's prestige was revealed with the greatest clarity in relation to the feminine clien-
[369] tele of the parties. It must be emphasized that at Dakar, at least among the

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[35] Where the rivalry, furthermore, was chiefly between the "outposts," in this case more or less connected with the tradition of the "old cities," and the surrounding countryside.
[36] The separation of Gorée and the anticipated electoral redistricting had persuaded the civil administration to dissolve the municipal council and to replace it during the electoral period with a bipartisan municipal commission.
[37] Particularly in their activity as electoral agents.
[38] In a general way, these goals showed a much more definite "nationalist" potential.

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665 369 elements that have been urbanized the longest, the percentage of party memberships has been as high among women as among men. This was a peculiar aspect of the Dakar situation, not found, for instance, at Thiès (where the percentage of memberships among women, depending upon the ethnic group, was from one-half to one-tenth that among men). At Dakar the women's branches on occasion could mobilize large crowds, adorned in party colors. Study of about 30 of these individual cases suggested that the conscious essence of political attachment consisted almost entirely of the relation with the leader.

665 578 The formalization noted above can be studied from various points of view. The fundamental bipartition of political life in a way was responsible for the indirect expression of intragroup and intergroup divisions and rivalries whose nature was other than political. This explains why the line of separation between the two political blocs did not have the same significance to all sectors of the population. In specific situations it assumed many meanings. For example, one could find: (1) hostility between the Lebou-Wolof grouping and the rest of the population (which resembled, without exactly corresponding to, the fundamental division [563] noted above); (2) hostility, more or less muted, between Wolof and Lebou; and (3) hostilities within each of the two groups, in proportion to diversities of origin, status, etc.

This accounts for the relative flexibility prevailing in the composition of the clienteles that made up the parties.[39] Since the clienteles represented varied levels, however, they introduced new divisions, or revived and solidified old hostilities.

665 (1) A fundamental problem arises from the interactions between the modern political system and what remains of the traditional or semi-traditional sys-

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.665 tems. At Dakar, the powers of the "sé-
[633] *rigne*" and of the dignitaries of the former "Lebou Republic" were continued, although they gradually lost their importance.[40] The parties were careful to keep these leading figures among their clientele. As a result there were some rather complex manipulations concerning nominations and successions. A nomination accepted by one party was more or less openly contested by the other. Hence the relatively frequent bifurcation of power: opposing the dignitary who had received official recognition was another who maintained himself as pretender, with the support of the party that had backed his candidacy. Such events stood
[667] out even more sharply among ward leaders, who depended most directly upon the party that controlled the city government. Their support was more or less confined to the voters of this party. Hence certain wards had clandestine ward leaders, around whom the members of the opposition party could gather. Of course, such phenomena have accelerated the deterioration of these institutions.

793 (2) In the religious field, control over
665 chiefs of the great Moslem brotherhoods similarly has been at stake in intense struggles between the parties. This was particularly true of the main brotherhood in Senegal, that of the Tidjanes.
[369] This problem has been centered outside Dakar and the other coastal cities, but has had important repercussions in these cities. The rivalries that apparently have always surrounded the choice of the caliph of the Tidjanes were intensified and acquired a greater impact, in proportion as the fundamental hostility of the parties was openly associated with
[788] them. Violent incidents involving political enemies occurred even on pilgrimages to Tivaouane, where the caliph resides; they contributed to the prolongation of conflicts within the caliph's family. Well-meaning interference by re-

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[39] We found, for example, that extended family groups with some degree of solidarity might be divided in political views. This caused severe tensions, but rarely breaks.

[40] *Cf.* C. Michel, *op. cit.* The civil administration continued to grant some prominence to the *sérigne* of Dakar, and ultimately used him as a propaganda agent in some of its activities outside Senegal.

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665 spected figures, with the aim of keeping
[193] such matters on a purely religious plane, has had little success. The Tidjane chieftans have been too enmeshed in politics to listen.

527 (3) A last example involves recrea-
665 tional activities organized at the end of
578 the year around the exhibition of the "lanterns."[41] These activities provided a basis for the formation of temporary groupings founded on ethnic background, neighborhood, occupation, etc. Such groupings undertook the making of a "lantern," and exhibited it to neighbors, relatives and others, eventually by forming a parade. An element of competition entered; the most noteworthy "lanterns" won rather imposing gifts and a brief prestige for the groupings that exhibited them. The parties seized on this competitive aspect. Party sections themselves created "lantern" groupings. With access to considerable material means and a large number of workers, they made "lanterns" that were veritable carnival floats, huge and very elaborate. Their exhibition brought together in a procession the typical rabble of large political demonstrations. At the same time it aroused friction between hostile parties.[42] They had taken over, almost entirely at their expense, demonstrations whose character they had utterly changed. This is a typical example of the way in which disparate activities have been infused by the two-party rivalry.

369 This process also has another side: the
665 parties have seen a decline in their opportunities for expressing political drives. In the old cities, they experienced relative stagnation for some years, while social changes accelerated and intensified. Elements just becoming aware of the world

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665 political situation remained aloof from party activity, unless they joined the marginal parties. This was a prime discovery from general investigations at Dakar and St. Louis. Comparison of the principal socio-occupational categories that had been used as a basis for classifying the population under study provided informative data for this topic. The following categories showed a percentage of political party membership [463] higher than that of the average of respondents: farmers and fishermen; unskilled laborers and domestic workers; merchants. By contrast, the percentage of membership was lower among semi-skilled workers, higher-ranking office-workers and government employees, and professional people. It is significant that trained workers and the intellectual elements most often kept apart from the existing political system. Such was the situation at Dakar. That at St. Louis was little different, or so it appeared from an incomplete analysis of an inquiry carried out among a sampling of the population in the island wards.

By contrast, the inquiry carried out at Thiès, whose traits are quite unlike those of the "old cities," provided very different results. For all the men, the percentage of membership was smaller than that at Dakar—40 per cent.[43] The following categories were below that fig- [463] ure: farmers, merchants, skilled workers, lower-ranking office-workers, and government employees. On the other hand, unskilled and semi-skilled workers, and higher-ranking office-workers and government employees, were higher.[44] Here the greatest degree of party membership corresponded to the most active categories; Thiès does not have the political traditions of the old cities, and the formalization found in them was much less

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[41] At first these were merely decorated lanterns. The custom certainly has a European origin; it is typical of the "old cities" of Senegal.
[42] In 1954 the parades of "lanterns" were prohibited by administrative edict.
[43] The results at Dakar and at Thiès cannot be compared in detail. However, the informative value of these general results could, in each case, be verified at other stages in the research.
[44] It should be noted that in the case of Thiès the category of unskilled workers was much closer to that of semi-skilled workers. The unskilled workers, largely employed by the railroad, comprise a more stable group than at Dakar.

7 [i.e an exhibition of "lanterns" at the end of the year accompanied by recreational activities — See category 116, P. 14 A -- Analyst]

[P. 14C]

[578] [426] [101] [369] 665

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369 665 striking. The data from Thiès enable one to approach in a much more meaningful way the problem of differentiating between the two large Senegalese parties in terms of their socio-occupational composition. Adherence to the B.D.S. was generally predominant in all categories, but the trend toward this party was greater, on the one hand, among semi-skilled and unskilled workers, and on the other, among higher-ranking office-workers and government employees. At Dakar, where the B.D.S. was at this time in the minority, a comparable trend was apparent: the party was proportionately stronger among semi-skilled workers and intellectuals. But differentiations of this type cannot fail to be blurred in a context such as that described above.

665 668 Therefore the importance of the groups remaining on the edge of party activities was more significant. Two groups merit particular attention. These were, first, the new cadres emerging from higher education; the problems resulting from their emergence are briefly discussed below. Secondly, there was a rather large group of persons less than thirty years old who had at least a primary school education.[45] The criticisms that the latter expressed against the established political system were often very harsh (against the city government, against the cadres of the two parties, etc.). Some had made several attempts to gain admittance to the existing parties, or into youth groups affiliated with the parties. They found themselves in weakly-structured, short-lived groups with no specific political function, but in which political problems were approached in a generally nonconformist manner. Otherwise they devoted their energies to organized nonpolitical groupings.

The importance of some of these nonpolitical groupings must now be examined. To a large degree they offered, more

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665 668 than the relatively inflexible political parties, adequate frameworks for expressing anti-colonial demands and for creating activists.

Religious Organizations

665 668 793 As distinct from many other parts of Sub-Sahara Africa, organizations of a religious character play only a very limited part here. We have already seen how the "traditional" political parties entered into the activities of some religious groups and attempted to make them recruiting bases for their clientele. The more limited movements alone provided certain means, chiefly indirect, for expressing extremist political demands. This was the case, for example, of a grouping founded by Moslem students at Dakar. However, they received very little support.[46]

Cultural Associations and Youth Movements

668 595 Cultural associations and youth movements have had a more important role in this area. Some of them have contributed to the formation of strong political cadres. In general, the cultural associations have had a rather precarious existence; their activities in some cases have ceased. Their efforts to win the support of the masses by undertaking an educational role — for instance, by means of the theater — have often been disappointing. Finally, they often have had a ambiguous nature. Thus, in a city such [369] as Dakar, founded by highly "assimilated" elements, they have experienced some difficulty in contributing to the development of modernized African culture. But they are not devoid of concern for political organization in a very general sense, removed from party orientation. This was shown with regard to three of the

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[45] Often, youths whose studies had been interrupted. It was difficult for them to achieve occupational stability.

[46] Its policies called for a renovation of Islam, so that it came more or less directly into opposition with the great Brotherhoods, whose religious formalism was rather marked; the latter retained a generally dominant influence.

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668 most vigorous associations, by an investi-
575 gation of the topics discussed by the study groups that they created, and of the content of the discussion.[47] By considering such questions as teaching and the language for teaching, the organization of local communities, economic development, interracial marriages, etc., their study of the political problems resulting from the colonial situation had wide influence.

As for the Youth Council of Senegal,
[369] which comprised the majority of youth associations and was organized primarily in the cities, the orientation of its activity was even clearer. By the nature of its conflicts with the civil administration, by the content of its demands in behalf of youth, by the topics related to the future of youth whose study it was undertaking, it disclosed a "nationalist" potential of some vigor.

It is essential to note the possible role of associations founded on ethnic or territorial bases, in particular those inspired by youths. Centers for contact with territories other than Senegal, they spread
[665] the foreign political influence of the parties predominating within them. This seemed to be the case, for instance, of the grouping of Senegalese youths with relation to the R.D.A. However, these associations were never directly linked with a given partisan organization. The political role that they might temporarily play was very flexible and therefore somewhat indeterminate.

Labor Unions

467 Labor unions should receive especial attention. The union movement in French West Africa is numerically one of the most important, and among the most active, in all of sub-Sahara Africa.
[665] Like the political parties, it took form only in the immediate post-war period.
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467 In 1954 it had a membership about 100,-
000, or a little less than one-third of all
wage-earners. The unions have reached
[369] their greatest development in Senegal,
especially in the large cities. In 1954
this territory contained more than half
the union members in French West
Africa, more than a third of all Sene-
galese wage-earners. Dakar has a central
role in this field. It is the headquarters
for the largest unions, which were once
affiliated with French federations but
are now autonomous. Dakar also pos-
sesses a very active "Labor Exchange."
By itself it contains more than two-fifths
of the union members in Senegal.

467 To some extent the significance of
668 the unions is more than occupational
[667] and economic. The degree to which they
[665] complete the political machinery of the
city is suggested by a comparison of the
percentages of party memberships with
the percentages of union memberships.
Of 1,200 persons interrogated during the
Dakar survey noted above, about one-
half (52 per cent) stated they were
union members. The potential ambiguity
of such statements was suggested above
in connection with political parties.[48]
However, an analysis of the respondents
by socio-occupational categories gave
meaningful results. The average rate of
union membership was surpassed by
lower-ranking office-workers and govern-
ment employees, higher-ranking office-
workers and government employees, and
professional people; it was equalled by
semi-skilled workers. With the exception
[665] of the first, these are precisely the cate-
gories whose rates of party membership
were lowest. On the other hand, partici-
pation in union activity was distinctly
more important among the categories
comprising the intellectual elements than

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[47] We acknowledge our indebtedness to the cultural associations for inviting us to participate in their study groups.

[48] Respondents claiming membership in a union often were behind in the payment of their dues, or only heeded the directives of the union without having joined it. Hence the number of union members, so far as it can be estimated from the general survey, is much higher than that given by the unions themselves. The deviations shown for the different categories are more marked than the raw figures of the general survey indicate; the categories with the highest percentages of union members were those in which the exactness of the responses was the greatest, as later samplings emphasized.

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[498] among the semi-skilled workers. The situation was reversed at Thiès, but because of the large Dakar-Niger Railroad shops there, this city is an exceptional case. The traits found at Dakar, by contrast, proved characteristic of unionism in French West Africa. The overall figures, obtained from official sources based on statements by unions, indicated clearly that manual occupations were the least unionized. Out of the 100,000 union members in French West Africa in [649] 1954, more than half were either government officials or government employees. The rate of unionization in the governmental sector was nearly double that in the non-governmental sector. Finally, in the two sectors together, semi-skilled workers comprised only a little more than a fourth of all union members. Furthermore, results of the studies at Dakar and Thiès suggest that union membership and level of schooling correlate rather closely; [665] this was far from the case with respect to party membership, at least at Dakar. To what degree did unionism offer educated individuals a means of expression that, in the period studied, parties did not offer them? Educated persons, especially youths, were more susceptible to extremist anti-colonial aspirations. And to what degree could union action present itself more clearly as a trial postponement for the existing order than action within the framework of parties?

The particular traits of union struggle markedly demonstrate the fundamental conflicts of the colonial situation. One cannot accurately speak of the "politization" of unions, in the sense many government officials give this term. The [665] limited activities of parties and the very conditions of unionism in a colonial situation have given unionism a marked political coloring.

(1) Interviews of militant unionists,
[p. 17A]

467 668 focussing on some of their asserted policies, revealed that the union struggle was regarded as directed essentially against the government. This must be interpreted not only with regard to the general traits of the colonial system but also in relation to the commanding role that the government played in labor. It was first of all the principal employer: in a city [369] such as Dakar, a little more than a third of the wage-earners were dependent upon it. It was responsible for setting the [465] minimum wage, and it has happened that owing to budgetary considerations and general policy it established a lower figure than non-governmental employers might have adopted. Finally, during the period [466] in question, a central problem was that of enforcing the Code of Overseas Labor, enacted by Parliament in 1952. The civil administration was responsible for its enforcement, and the strikes of 1953 were [468] designed to bring pressure on the administration so as to obtain a "fair enforcement" of its provisions. In the interviews mentioned above, conflicts with employers were scarcely mentioned as such. Employers were identified with the civil administration; the terms "civil administration" and "colonialism" seemed almost interchangeable. The adversary of the unions being essentially the civil administration — and a "colonial civil administration" — their action inevitably assumed political significance, broadly defined.[49]

467 668 563 (2) In the field of union activities the hostility between the European component and the African component of the urban population showed itself most vividly. This stemmed not merely from the fact that the civil administration and the employers represented the power of the "whites." It was also noteworthy that European workers, employees, and [468] officials almost invariably formed separate unions, with goals sharply opposed to

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[49] This struggle against the civil administration was not confined to local matters. It was affected by events at Paris, both administrative and parliamentary. The use of political precedents seems very clear here. They sometimes brought success, as was the case in the enforcement of the provisions of the Labor Code regarding the hours of work.

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467 those of the African unions.[50] The acute
468 crises produced by certain important
668 strikes gave forceful expression to this
563 rift. The African unions, despite their ideological differences, despite the personal rivalries that brought their leaders into opposition, often engaged in combined and coordinated activities. By contrast, the strikes of the African workers and those of the European workers scarcely ever coincided, though the latter might break out as a response to the
[465] former in an effort to maintain the hierarchy of salary scales. As demonstrations of African unity against the civil
[578] administration and against European controls in general, strikes were the only occasion in which the underlying tension characterizing the city appeared distinctly and in a generalized fashion. It was because they expressed this tension that their impact and the emotional response to them were so important.

467 (3) This was also the principal cause
468 of their ultimate success. During such
668 conflicts, demands were expressed that were far more extreme than those made by the parties. Thus, in the strikes of 1953, the union press and the union leaders evoked the possibility that African "loyalism" would be suspended and that the bonds between France and the Overseas Territories would be changed; the question of independence was openly and threateningly discussed. Union activities assumed a certain nationalistic coloring that the parties at that time disregarded. Behind every limited demand regarding salaries or the regulation of working conditions lay the fundamental anti-colonial demand; it was this demand that gave weight to the mass demonstrations and that carried the day.[51] It must be further
467 noted that during this period major ex-
668 ternal ideological elements entered the contest, especially through the unions. An important number of their activists had studied techniques of organization,

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both in France and in other countries. Participation in international congresses put them in contact with the ideological currents of the world. A study of the union press was very revealing in this regard.

To the masses, unions proposed goals that were, in the period under consideration, far different from those of the political parties. Unions were in many ways more systematic and more vigorous. They were much less apt to make differentiations along ethnic, religious, or other lines. The unity of action that they practiced banned their assimilating such hostilities and conflicts, whose meaning was foreign to them. These hostilities yielded before the fundamental hostility brought out by union action. The near-unanimity with which the directives of the union have been followed is very significant. For the elites, on the other hand, unions offered, in an era in which the forms and matrices of customary political expression appeared too narrow, a wider and more adequate field of action. Unionism supplied the most accessible agencies for sharing in power of the modern sort. The intellectual elites furnished the substance of the union framework and played a dominant role on their executive committees.[52] Located at the very center of situations of tension and conflict, they found in union activities the most effective way of asserting modern views and of surmounting the limits barring their advancement in the political and occupational fields.

Developments Since 1956

Such were the chief aspects, in a period of transition, of the political life of the large Senegalese urban centers. In the subsequent four years, great changes have occurred. Senegalese political individuality — considerably modified by that of the "old cities" — has remained clear, but it has in great part shifted to

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[50] *Cf.* P. Mercier, "Aspects des problemes de stratification sociale," *Cahiers intl. de* Soc. XVIII, 1954.
[51] A scrutiny of union publications in 1953 made this evident.
[52] In a very broad sense; their composition was very heterogeneous and drawn from various strata.

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other fields.

668 369 In the "old cities," changes have taken place that were already evident when the investigations noted above were being conducted. The importance of these facts must be emphasized:

(1) The separation between the cities and the countryside, and more particularly between the old cities and the rest of the territory, is becoming less sharp. This fact has already been pointed out in connection with recent demographic developments and the growth of the B.D.S. There are other indications. The 591 668 369 intellectual elites have more diversified origins; though the oldest nuclei of urban population remain important in their composition, they are steadily decreasing in size. The bonds among the different sections of the territory are tightening. On the other hand, the old elites are becoming active outside city boundaries, and give a place in their considerations to the problems of rural modernization and evolution. Certain projects established by the youth associations and the unions have contributed to this orientation.

(2) These facts are connected with a shift in generations that has extensive effects. The attitude of youthful elites has been different; they feel themselves competent to assume broader responsibilities.[53] At the same time they are diverging more or less impetuously from the paths of "assimilation," and are striving to rediscover and revive specifically African values. An effort to prove themselves individually by integrating themselves into the existing system is being succeeded by an effort to prove themselves as representatives and guides for a host that must be freed from this system. This is a trend toward nationalism, in the widest sense of the term.

668 369 563 (3) In the coastal cities, the growing strength of racial tensions since the last war cannot fail to encourage such a

668 369 [563] change. The vast increase in the number of Europeans, their greater occupational diversification, the much stronger reaction to the facts of discrimination, and multiplication of competitive situations — occupational or otherwise — are the most obvious phases of this major phenomenon.[54]

As these factors have come into full operation, a new phase of political life has opened. These are its principal traits:

668 665 [467] (1) From 1956 on, in unions and in politics, secessions from the original French bodies — confederations or parties — have multiplied. Previous remarks indicated the development of this process among unions. After some delay it affected the S.F.I.O. itself, which was transformed, not without difficulties, into the African Socialist Movement. The assimilationist tradition declined, or at least was no longer proclaimed openly. After the parties became autonomous, the distinction between direct and indirect forms of political expression began to disappear. Extremist demands of a nationalistic character found expression within the parties, and worked effectively there after 1957 (at the time when the new "organic law" authorized the first Senegalese government).

[571] (2) To a certain degree, the very old Senegalese political tradition once more became a driving force. At the same time the marginal elements, whose existence was particularly marked among intellectuals, entered into real politics, chiefly within the framework of the B.D.S. They comprised the left wing of the new Senegalese Populist Bloc (B.P.S.), which stemmed from the B.D.S., and shared in the creation of the African Convention, which is striving to extend outside Senegal the strictly autonomous orientations of the B.D.S. They tried to organize the B.D.S. as a

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8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[53] *Cf.* P. Mercier, "Evolution des élites sénégalaises," *Bull. intl. des Sci. soc.*, VIII (#4, '56).
[54] *Cf.* P. Mércier, "Le groupement européen de Dakar," *Cahiers intl. de Soc.*, XIX, 1955.

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668 mass-party, but in patterns very different
665 from those prevailing in the "old cities." Finally, their influence has been decisive in attempts to regroup the Senegalese parties, "disregarding personal and doctrinal differences." It has been a question of wiping out the fundamental hostility that typified post-war Senegalese political life, which — as we have seen — had more than a purely political significance. This effort led, not without difficulties, to the creation of the African Regroupment Party (P.R.A.). The former rivalries were still evident, though in a diminished and less forceful manner, during 1958-1959. The youthful elements of the B.P.S. at first helped provide the latter with leadership of the other territorial parties. It was they who, at the Congress of Cotonou, introduced the first outspoken assertion by the P.R.A. in favor of independence.[55]

[369] (3) However, the influence of the political tradition of the old cities has not been entirely discarded. Added to that of the conservative religious leaders, it helps account for a return to a moderate stand on the part of Senegal. The campaign for the referendum of 1958 showed

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8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960
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668 this clearly; it was under this two-fold
665 pressure that the B.P.S. took a position in favor of "yes." It likewise accounts for the less extreme attitudes often taken by leaders within the new Mali Federation.[56] However, this influence of tradition is not sufficient to block new trends. It is significant that in the legislative
[666] elections of March, 1959, the Senegalese Solidarity Party (P.S.S.), a combination of conservative city and rural elements, was as thoroughly defeated at St. Louis, where victory seemed probable, as in the rural districts. Again, it should be noted that the youthful elements that entered the B.P.S. in 1956 have in part left the new Senegalese Progressive Union (U.P.S.), an offshoot of the latter party after the regrouping noted above. By founding the African-Senegalese Regroupment Party (P.R.A.-S.), they have hoped to express their disappointment with a party insufficiently radical, insufficiently organized in structure, and containing too many aspects of the "traditional" political life of the old cities.

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8: Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

[55] Some months before there was established an African Independence Party, whose support remains very limited. [Cotonou is the capital of Dahomey.]

[56] Translator's note: the Mali Federation is the new state formed by the union of Senegal with the Sudanese Republic.

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